

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 4451

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SUBJ: NPG- PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON STRENGTHENING THE NPG

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SUMMARY: DURING THE CURRENT YEAR, THE U.S. HAS FORSTERED AND SUP-
PORTED IN THE NPG KEY INITIATIVES IN NEW TECHNOLOGY, FORCE
POSTURE (NUNN AMENDMENT), AND DOCTRINE (PHASE III). BUILDING
IN THIS BASE, WE SEE POSSIBILITIES FOR NURURING A CONSTRUCTIVE
EVOLUTION OF THE NPG, ORGANIZATIONALLY AND SUBSTANTIVELY, BY
PROMOTING THE FOLLOWING FOUR GENERAL OBJECTIVES: (A) INCREASINGLY
FOCUS NPG ACTIVITIES ON CONCRETE ISSUES OF FORCE POSTURE AND DOCTRINE
;
(B) BROADEN NPG SCOPE BEYOND EXAMINATION OF NARROW NUCLEAR ISSUES
INTO BROAD-GUAGE CONSIDERATION OF THE ROLE OF CONVENTIONAL AND
NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ALLIANCE STRATEGY AND POLICY; (C) FOCUS
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PLANNING FOR MINISTERIAL MEETINGS ON ISSUES OF KEY INTEREST TO
MINISTERS; AND (D) IMPROVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN POLITICAL AND MILI-
TARY AUTHORITIES. AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THE MINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS
AT MONTEREY, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO SET ASIDE A PART

OF THE HAMBURG NPG MEETING THIS NOBEMBER FOR MINISTERS TO DISCUSS THE NPG ITSELF AND FOR THE U.S. TO PRESENT ITS VIEWS AND PROPOSALS. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES SOME PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON STRENGTHENING THE NGP. END SUMMARY.

1. GENERAL. AT MONTEREY, SECRETARY SCHLESINGER, MOD LEBER, AND OTHER MINISTERS COMMENTED ON VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONAL, PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF THE NPG. WE BELIEVE THESE DISCUSSIONS SUGGEST THAT IT IS TIMELY TO CONDUCT A STOCK-TAKING OF THE NPG TO DETERMINE HOW TO INCREASE ITS USEFULNESS FOR ADVANCING U.S. AND ALLIANCE INTERESTS. WE SEE FOUR GENERAL OBJECTIVES AROUND WHICH EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE NGP SHOULD CENTER. FIRST, WHILE EDUCATING OUR ALLIES IN NUCLEAR MATTERS WILL REMAIN A ESSENTIAL BY-PRODUCT, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD INCREASINGLY ORIENT NPG ACTIVITIES TO CENTER ON CONCRETE ISSUES OF FORCE POSTURE AND DOCTRINE, AS CALLED FOR BY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AT MONTEREY. SECOND, WE SEE A NEED TO BRAODEN THE SCOPE OF THE NPG SO THAT IT CAN MOVE BEYOND EXAMINATION OF NARROW NUCLEAR ISSUES INTO BROAD-GUAGE CONSIDERATION OF THE ROLE OF CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ALLIANCE STRATEGY AND POLICY. THIRD, WE THINK THAT PLANNING FOR MININTERIAL MEETINGS SHOULD FOCUS ON ISSUES OF KEY INTEREST TO MINISTERS, AND NOT ON TOPICS OF A SECONDARY ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THAT NATIONAL AND NATO STAFFS GENERATE. FOURTH, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD PROMOTE IMPROVED DIALOGUE BETWEEN POLITICAL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES. THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION COVERS VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONAL, PROCEDURAL, AND SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF NPG WHICH, IN VARYING DEGREES, COULD CONTRIBUTE TO MEETING THESE OBJECTIVES AND THEREBY STRENGTHEN THE NPG.

2. MEMBERSHIP. ALTHOUGH THE QUESTION HAS BEEN RAISED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS IN THE PAST, THE MEMBERS OF THE NPG HAVE NEVER CONCLUDED, COLLECTIVELY, THAT CURRENT MEMBERSHIP ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE MODIFIED. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT MIGHT BE TIMELY TO REEXAMINE THE CURRENT ROTATIONAL SYSTEM, SINCE THIS QUESTION IS APT TO ARISE IN CONNECTION WITH THE FRG PROPOSAL TO HOLD ALTERNATE MEETINGS OF THE NPG IN BRUSSELS IN CONJUNCTION WITH DECEMBER DPC MEETINGS (DISCUSSED BELOW). THE U.S. HAD SEVERAL MAJOR REASONS
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FOR ESTABLISHING AN NPG OF LIMITED MEMBERSHIP, I.E., TO PROVIDE A SPECIAL PLACE FOR THE FRG AS A PERMANENT MEMBER (ALONG WITH THE UK AND ITALY) OF AN EXCLUSIVE AND LIMITED GROUP WHICH DEALT WITH SENSITIVE ISSUES OF ALLIANCE NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND POLICY; TO FOSTER DIRECT PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OF ALLIED DEFENSE MINISTERS IN FRANK AND INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS; AND TO FACILITATE DISCUSSIONS OF HIGHLY CLASSIFIED U.S. NUCLEAR PLANNING INFORMATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, AN ARGUMENT CAN BE MADE FOR EXAPNDING MEMBERSHIP ON GROUNDS THAT SUBJECTS WITH WHICH THE NPG SHOULD BE DEALING ARE TOO IMPORTANT FOR THE INTERMITTENT INVOLVEMENT OF MINISTERS OF ROTATING MEMBERS, AND THAT THE U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SHOULD HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY AT NPG MEETINGS TO ENGAGE ALL HIS NPG COLLEAGUES IN SUBSTANTIVE CONSIDERATION OF KEY NUCLEAR ISSUES. EX-

PANDING MEMBERSHIP COULD BE VIEWED AS A STEP TOWARD GIVING NEW IMPETUS TO THE WORK OF THE NPG. ONE WAY OR THEOTHER, IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO PRESERVE THE CHARACTER OF THE NGP AS A SPECIALIZED COMMITTEE GIVING OUR ALLIES SUBSTANTIVE ROLE IN NUCLEAR PLANNING AND PROVIDING THE FORUM FOR FRANK AND INFORMAL MINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS OF HIGHLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. MOST IMPORTANTLY, IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF GERMAN VIEWS; ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF CHANGE IN MEMBERSHIP SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE FRG, AND WITH THE UK AND ITALY AS WELL. AS FOR ROTATING MEMBERS, THEY WOULD WELCOME A CHANGE IN CURRENT MEMBERSHIP ARRANGEMENTS.

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3. MEETING LOCATION. MOD LEBER' PROPOSAL AT MONTEREY TO HOLD THE AUTUMN NPG MEETINGS IN DECEMBER IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DPC WAS NOT WELL PREPARED OR PRESENTED. ALTHOUGH A CHANGE OF THIS KIND IS ANCILLARY TO EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE NPG, WE FIND IT ATTRACTIVE FOR REASONS OF ECONOMY AND CONVENIENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WOULD HAVE A BEARING ON THE MEMBERSHIP QUESTION. HOLDING ALTERNATIVE MINISTERIAL MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DPC WOULD INEVITABLY CAUSE ROTATING MEMBERS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF WHY THEIR MINISTERS SHOULD NOT ATEND. HOWEVER, IF THE NPG WERE TO DECIDE TO CHANGE MEMBERSHIP ARRANGEMENTS AS DISCUSSED ABOVE, THIS PROBLEM WOULD NOT ARISE. IN SHORT, CHANGE IN MEMBERSHIP AND CHANGE IN MEETING LOCATION COULD BE COMPLEMENTARY ACTIONS AND SHOULD BE EXAMINED IN THIS LIGHT.

4. REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS. AT MONTEREY, SECRETARY SCHLESINGER

SUGGESTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS AS AN IMPROVED MEANS FOR DOING SERIOUS PLANNING FOR NUCLEAR EMPLOYMENT. THIS SUGGESTION COULD BE PUT INTO PRACTICE IN A VARIETY OF WAYS. REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS COULD INVOLVE AD HOC STAFF LEVEL
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ACTIVITIES, AS IN THE CASE OF PHASE I FOLLOW-ON USE STUDIES, OR COULD INVOLVE A REGULAR PATTERN OF MEETINGS BY MNCS OR MSCS, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES, SENIOR POLITICAL AND MILITARY OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS, OR PERHAPS EVEN MINISTERS OF DEFENSE. THE PRINCIPAL DIFFICULTY WE SEE WITH MINISTERIAL REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS IS THE BURDEN THIS WOULD PLACE ON THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, SINCE, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, THE US WOULD NEED TO BE INVOLVED IN ALL THREE REGIONS. IN ANY CASE, REGIONAL SUB-GROUP ACTIVITIES WOULD PROVIDE RELATIVELY SMALL-GROUP FORUMS CONDUCTIVE TO FRANK AND PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS. THEIR WORK COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR DEVELOPING POLICIES AND PLANNING RELATED TO NUCLEAR EMPLOYMENT OPTIONS, AND FOR DEALING WITH OTHER ISSUES OF A PARTICULARLY REGIONAL CHARACTER, E.G., FORCE POSTURE ISSUES. THE RESULTS OF REGIONAL SUB-GROUP DELIBERATIONS SHOULD GO TO THE NPG SO AS TO ENSURE THAT THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE FOLDED INTO THE BROADER CONCERNS OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE.

5. A VARIATION. IF THE US WISHES TO PURSUE THE IDEA OF REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS, AND PARTICULARLY IF THE US FEELS IT CAN SUPPORT REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS INVOLVING MINISTERIAL PARTICIPATION, WE SEE SOME MERIT IN THE POSSIBILITY OF AN PPG MEETING PATTERN INVOLVING (A) MINISTERIAL MEETINGS OF ELEVEN MEMBERS ONCE A YEAR, PERHAPS HOSTED BY A MEMBER COUNTRY, AND (B) PERIODIC REGIONAL SUB-GROUP MEETINGS (NOT NECESSARILY INVOLVING MINISTERS). THIS APPROACH WOULD COMBINE THE VIRTUES OF THE ENLARGED NPG, AT ONE LEVEL, AND THE POTENTIAL FOR FRANK AND INFORMAL EXCHANGES IN SMALLER REGIONAL GROUPS, AT THE OTHER LEVEL.

6. POLITICAL AND MILITARY COOPERATION. UNDER CURRENT PRACTICE, MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE NPG ESSENTIALLY IN THE ROLE OF OBSERVERS. THIS HAS NOT PREVENTED THEM FROM MAKING SUBSTANTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS, AND THEREFORE THE STATUS OF "OBSERVER" IS, AT LEAST IN PART, A MISNOMER. NONETHELESS, MORE EXTENSIVE INTERACTION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED, SINCE PLANNING FOR THE NUCLEAR DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE DEMANDS THE SYNTHESIS OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY OBJECTIVES. TO DO THIS, WE SEE NO NEED TO ALTER THE PRESENT "OBSERVER" STATUS OF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN THE NPG. RATHER, WE SEE EXERCISES SUCH AS WINTEX, REGIONAL SUB-GROUP ACTIVITIES, AND NUCLEAR EMPLOYMENT
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PLANNING (DISCUSSED BELOW) AS EXAMPLES OF AREAS OFFERING OPP-

ORTUNITIES, WHICH SHOULD BE EXPLOITED, FOR GREATER JOINT INVOLVEMENT OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO BRING THIS SYNTHESIS ABOUT. AT THE SAME TIME IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO GUARD AGAINST INVOLVEMENT OF ALLIED POLITICAL AUTHORITIES IN STRICTLY MILITARY MATTERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF AN OPERATIONAL CHARACTER.

7. DOCTRINE: GENERAL. THE PHASE III PROJECT ON WHICH WE ARE EMBARKED PROVIDES THE CONTEXT FOR MOVING TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCISE STATEMENTS ON DOCTRINE THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAS URGED WE SHOULD EXPLOIT THIS UNDERTAKING TO EDUCATE THE ALLIES ON THE PROPER ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE OVERALL DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE AND TO DEVELOP A BROAD CONCEPT FOR THE USE OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES WHICH SUPPORTS US EMPLOYMENT POLICY. WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT US NUWEPs POLICY PROVIDES THE FRAMEWORK OF AN ADEQUATE DOCTRINE FOR THE USE OF THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT WILL REQUIRE EXPANSION AND REFINEMENT IN THE NATO CONTEXT. OUR AIM IN PHASE III SHOULD BE TO PLACE THE ROLE OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES IN THE CONTEXT OF ALLIANCE STRATEGY IN TERMS THAT ARE PRESCRIPTIVE IN CHARACTER, AS CONCRETE AS POSSIBLE, AND THAT PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE "SERIOUS PLANNING" SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SEEKS.

8. DOCTRINE: OPTION PLANNING. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL AREAS WHERE NATO WILL MOVE TOWARD "SERIOUS PLANNING" IS IN THE FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT OPTION PLANNING. THE CONCEPT OF PRE-PLANNING, WHICH IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF NEW US EMPLOYMENT POLICY AND WILL BECOME AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PART OF THE NMA'S NUCLEAR PLANNING, ENCOMPASSED BOTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS. WE NEED TO THINK CAREFULLY ABOUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NECESSARY INTERACTION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN EMPLOYMENT OPTION PLANNING IN ORDER FOR THIS RELATIVELY NEW EMPHASIS IN NUCLEAR DEFENSE TO BE APPLIED EFFECTIVELY. THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENED POLITICAL AND MILITARY COOPERATION DISCUSSED ABOVE RELATES TO THIS IMPORTANT AREA. ONE POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENT FOR ADVANCING THIS AIRMIGHT BE TO USE THE REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS SUGGESTED BY THE SECRETARY FOR THIS PURPOSE, AMONG OTHERS. MILITARY AUTHORITIES WILL, WITH REASON, BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DANGERS OF ALLIED POLITICAL AUTHORITIES GETTING TOO DEEPLY INTO OPERATIONAL MATTERS. WE SHOULD THEREFORE ENVISAGE ALLIED INVOLVEMENT IN EMPLOYMENT
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OPTION PLANNING AS A PROCESS OF REVIEW, FAMILIARIZATION, AND DIALOGUE TO STRENGTHEN UNDERSTANDING OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF A WIDE RANGE OF CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR OPTIONS. WE MUST, HOWEVER, AVOID CREATING A SITUATION THAT PLACES ALLIED POLITICAL AUTHORITIES IN THE POSITION OF REVIEWING AND APPROVING MILITARY CONTINGENCY PLANS OR OF GETTING INTO OPERATIONAL DETAILS.

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9. FORCE POSTURE ISSUES. FOLLOW-UP ACTIONS TO THE NUNN AMENDMENT NUCLEAR REPORT PROVIDE THE MAIN CONTEXT FOR ADVANCING US OBJECTIVES FOR CHANGE IN THE THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE POSTURE, A FUNDAMENTAL AREA OF CONCERN FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, AND ONE IN WHICH THE NPG MUST PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE ANY SUCCESS IN STRENGTHENING IT. WE PROVIDED VIEWS IN REF C ON THE NEED TO PRESENT THE ALLIES WITH A COHERENT OVERVIEW OF OUR THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE POSTURE OBJECTIVES SO THAT THEY WILL HAVE AN ADEQUATE FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR DEALING CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH PROPOSALS FOR SPECIFIC CHANGES. AS SUGGESTED IN REF C, WE SEE A BRIEFING FOR PNG PERMREPS, POSSIBLY IN SEPTEMBER, AS A POINT AT WHICH TO BEGIN. DISCUSSIONS OF THE SAME ING SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN BILATERALS DURING THE FALL, AND AT THE HAMBURG NPG MEETING. THESE ACTIONS SHOULD BE VIEWED AS STAGE-SETTING STEPS FOR DEALING WITH CONCRETE, SPECIFIC FORCE POSTURE ISSUES. WE COULD AIM TO COME OUT OF THE HAMBURG NPG MEETING WITH CLEAR DIRECTION FROM MINISTERS FOR FOLLOW-UP ACTIONS ON AT LEAST ONE OR TWO CONCRETE ISSUES.

10. MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION OF BROAD SUBJECTS OF CENTRAL

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IMPORTANCE. WE BELIEVE THE NPG CAN BE STRENGTHENED, PARTICULARLY AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL, BY FOSTERING DISCUSSION OF A BROAD RANGE OF CONCRETE ISSUES THAT ARE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO MINISTERS. WE SEE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S SUGGESTION AT MONTEREY THAT THENPG DISCUSS NON-PROLIFERATION AS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS. WE BELIEVE THAT GERMAN VIEWS ON THE NPG AGENDA REPORTED IN REF D ALSO REFLECT A DESIRE TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF MINISTERIAL

DISCUSSIONS, AND TO GET AWAY FROM LENGTHY AGENDAS ON FREQUENTLY COMPLEX AND ABSTRACT STAFF PAPERS ON SUBJECTS THAT ARE USUALLY OF ONLY SECONDARY INTEREST TO MINISTERS. WHILE WE SEE SOME ATTRACTION IN THE IDEA OF "FREE DISCUSSION" CONTEMPLATED BY THE GERMANS, WE BELIEVE, AS INDICATED IN REF D, THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO EDVISE WAYS OF GIVING SOME FOCUS TO SUCH DISCUSSIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, PRIOR TO A MEETING MINISTERS MIGHT INDICATE WHICH SUBJECTS THEY WISH TO DISCUSS. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY COULD BE FOR A MINISTER TO PRE-CIRCULATE A PAPER ON A PARTICULAR TOPIC. THE KEY POINT, IN OUR VIEW, IS THAT SUCH DISCUSSIONS NEED NOT BE CONSTRAINED TO TRADITIONAL NPG SUBJECTS, AND, INDEED, NOT EVEN TO SUBJECTS THAT ARE DIRECTLY NUCLEAR.

11. ACTIONS LEADING UP TO HAMBURG NPG. WE BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE WELL FOR MINISTERS TO SET ASIDE PART OF THE NEXT MEETING TO DISCUSS WAYS OF STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE NPG IN ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER MIGHT TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO LEAD AND DISCUSS SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES AND PROPOSALS. IF WE WISH TO DO THIS, AND IN OTHER WAYS MOVE IN THE DIRECTIONS SUGGESTED ABOVE, THERE WOULD BE A NEED FOR A HIGH-PRIORITY INTERAGENCY REVIEW, TO WHICH WE WOULD WISH TO CONTRIBUTE. THEREAFTER, THERE WOULD BE A NEED FOR SOME BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON ISSUES SUCH AS MEMBERSHIP. OUR APPROACH AT HAMBURG COULD BE ONE OF PRESENTING PROPLSALS FOR MINISTERIAL CONSIDERATION, ON WHICH DECISIONS COULD BE TAKEN AT A MEETING OF THE NDAC IN DECEMBER, OR AT THE SPRING PNG MINISTERIAL MEETING.

12. THE VIEWS PRESENTED ABOVE DO NOT CONSTITUTE A READICAL DEPARTURE FOR THE CURRENT NPG. THEY REFLECT, RATHER, MODIFICATIONS AND CHANGES IN EMPHASIS WHICH COULD GIVE NEW IMPETUS TO THE ORGANIZATION. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE CONTINUES TO EXIST A NEED FOR SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR NUCLEAR CONSULTATION TO MAINTAIN COHESION AND SOLIDARITY IN THE ALLIANCE. IN TWO MESSAGES LAST FALL (REFS A AND B), WE PROVIDED VOEWS ON THE NEED TO MAINTAIN
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A VIGOROUS NPG, WHICH WE SAW THEN, AND CONTINUE TO SEE, AS A CRITICAL LINK IN THE CHAIN OF U.SM-ALLIED RELATIONS. ANY PRO-POSALS WE MAKE SHOULD BE GEARED TOWARD REAFFIRMING OUR COMMITMENT TO CONSULTATION IN THIS VITAL AREA. OUR THEME, THEREFORE, SHOULD BE HOW TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN AN ALREADY SUCCESSFUL OPERATION. BRUCE

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